2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

793 and officiate in the ceremonies, but it is perhaps true to say that only
767 the beasts for minor sacrifices (recovery from illnesses, etc.) are killed by them. Hofmayr states that the distinctive mark of the
[292 *bareth* is a necklace of disc beads of ostrich egg-shell, but that they also
301] wear anklets of glass beads, white and green. The *bareth* eat the flesh of the sacrifices and drink the milk of the cattle belonging to the shrine; they are responsible too for the disposal of the bones of the sacrifice, which they cast into the river.

778 The contents of the *kengo* vary, but they always include certain
346 sacred spears, called *alodo*, representing those used by Nyakang and his companions.

In 1910 we were told that one of the five huts of the Fenikang shrine was in a special sense the house of Nyakang, which he was thought to inhabit. It was distinguished by a number of very rough
[532] paintings on its outer wall, some of which could be recognized as representing animals, but we could not learn that the paintings had any special significance. Before the door of the hut were a number
[114 of horns of the cattle slain in sacrifice (in 1911 wrongly described as
237] elephant tusks), their broad ends thrust into the ground; within there were said to be skins on the floor, as if for Nyakang to rest upon. Some of the "spears of Nyakang" (*alodo*) are kept here, and there is in this shrine an extremely sacred stool, which may be kept in this hut or may be preserved with some of the sacred spears and a number of elephant tusks in one of the other huts of the shrine, used by the guardians and for storing the millet brought as offerings when the crop is cut. In 1921 we were struck afresh with the resemblance of the shrine to a homestead, with exceptionally large huts; it had been rebuilt since 1910, when we first visited Fenikang, and there were now no horns in front of any hut. At this
793 time (1921) the shrine had been entrusted by the king to the care
778 of a most intelligent elderly Dinka woman, by name Aker—widow of the kings Kur and Fadiet—who was the chief priestess of the shrine. She had three huts and a cattle byre near the shrine; in one hut she
[567] kept her beer, and here millet was ground, the two others were for her slaves, who as well as her cattle were provided by the king. We are not certain whether she ever slept in the shrine. According
[644 to Shilluk custom Aker had left Kodok during her two pregnancies,
843] but on neither occasion had she been sent to Fenikang; it is, indeed, improbable that a royal wife would be sent to a village containing a shrine, as it might be difficult to accommodate her cattle and those of the shrine attendants as well as the village beasts,

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

304 [565]

is, that this will keep them from using abusive language. — Some natives say, members of the royal family do not remove the incisors; but of this I am not sure.

[641] [413] TRIBAL MARKS

The tribal marks of the Shilluks, women as well as men, are from three to five rows of dots across the forehead. The regular instrument for tattooing these dots into the skin is a crude iron similar in shape to our scalpel. But not infrequently individuals are met with who have not these marks. Sometimes women have from one to three rows of small scars across their foreheads. These are in most or all cases simply caused by wearing bands of buttons drawn tightly across the forehead. Tattooings on other parts of the body are seldom.

302 413 SHAVING

The women wear either no or only short hair on the head; they shave their heads with a razor consisting of a straight piece of thin iron, whose edge is sharpened, or with a short piece of iron with one side beaten out to a thin edge. But lacking a razor they use almost any metal instrument they can get hold of for this purpose. Both sexes scrupulously remove any hair on the body by pulling it out with a kind of pincers; the men even pull out their beard and eyelashes. — They do not circumcise.

302 HAIR-DRESSINGS

The men, chiefly youths, indulge in elaborate hair-dresses of varied forms. Such hair-dressing takes several hours to arrange, and has to last for weeks, the natural occasion for renewing it being a village-dance, where everyone wants to appear at his best; in dressing it, the hair is first loosened with a stick, which serves at the same time for scratching the head. Then it is twisted and brought into the right form by means of a mixture of gum, mud, and sometimes cow-dung; from time to time oil or butter is poured on it. In order not to spoil the hair-dressings while sleeping, the neck is supported by neck-supports. Sometimes the hair is bleached either yellowish-red or grey. Bleached hair is generally not twisted or dressed, but is left standing out in all directions "like the feathers of a fighting cock." Bleaching is done by smearing a thick plaster of ashes, chalk and cow-dung on the hair and leaving it there for about two or three weeks. Another mode of bleaching is to rub the plaster well into the hair, then gathering it up from the back, and bringing it forward, forming it into the shape of a horn. While in this state, they must be very careful not to break it, lest the hair is broken off. The same result is obtained by washing the hair continually with cow-urine. These processes take the kink as well as the colour out of the hair. This bleached bristle-like hair together with their tall, thin body covered with ashes or brick-dust, and the want of eyelashes sometimes gives the people, in the eyes of one who has never seen them before, a rather frightful appearance. Boys wear their hair in little knobs, formed with red earth and fat. Cowrie-shells, in strings or single, are often twisted into the hair, and

[352] [513]

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[301]

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

young men are very fond of adorning their hair with ostrich or other fine feathers.

The men and generally also unmarried girls go naked. In recent times many men wear a cotton cloth, which is knotted on the left shoulder, and slung round the right hip; chiefly people living near the mission have partly adopted this clothing; the desire to possess such a cotton-cloth is a stimulus for many a Shilluk to work for a few days or weeks in the mission-compound; the number of those who do so is apparently increasing. Animal-skins are generally not worn by men as an every-day dress. Women, and sometimes girls are dressed in cow, calf, or antelope skins, which are either wrapped round the body, or hung over the shoulder. CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS

[The full dress of a woman is described by Mrs. Giffen in "The Egyptian Sudan" as follows: First of all there is a small apron. This is a piece of coarse cloth — originally white — about two feet long and eighteen inches wide. It is made of two thicknesses, and it is tied by strings fastened to two corners around the waist, but just below the abdomen, and falls down to the knees.

Then there are two skins, of sheep, goat, calf, gazelle or whatever it may be, tanned with the hair on, and worn with the hair side out. One of these is tied around the waist, using one foreleg and one hindleg of the skin for strings to tie with. The tail and the other two legs — or the skin of them — dangle and flap around the legs as ornaments. Indeed these are sometimes ornamented with beads, brass or iron rings. This skin is tied in front so as to show the white apron underneath.

The other skin is worn on the upper part of the body. The fore and hind legs on one side are fastened together at their very tips; this is then slipped over the head, the legs of the skin thus tied together resting on the right shoulder, and the other side passing under the left arm. This is the full dress of a woman. Of course in addition to this they may wear as many beads and other ornaments as they can afford; strings of beads around the waist, neck, and arms, and armlets, of brass; sometimes as many as ten or twelve brass or iron rings, weighing several pounds, and extending from the hand half way to the elbow. These are not loose, but drawn tight to the flesh, and each made fast by the blacksmith. Similar rings of iron are often worn by the older women on the ankle. These are very heavy and produce great knots in the flesh.

The little girls wear the apron only, and when a little older, put on the shoulder skin, and when full grown wear the skin about the waist.]

When meeting for a dance both sexes are richly dressed. While present at

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

292 535 301 a great dance. I have noted the ornaments and clothings worn by the young men and girls on the occasion. They are *a)* for the men: above the ankles a strip of sheep or goat skin with the hair on it outside; the same just below the knee; above it are the knee-bells, a number of metal bells each consisting in a hollow, oblong piece of iron, in which a small iron ball moves, thus producing a rattling noise; about the loins there is a skin of leopard, gepard, wild cat, or jackal, suspended on a eight to twelve-fold girdle of ostrich egg shells; the girdle may also consist of European beads; on the wrist a bracelet of brass or iron, above the elbow an ivory ring, above it a six- to eight-fold ring of ambach; about the neck they wear one or more necklaces of beads; on the head ornaments of horse-tail or other long hair, and ostrich feathers; round the forehead strips of red or white bristles are fastened; each man holds two lances, two clubs, one club-shield, the lances generally being adorned with ostrich-plumes; sometimes the skin-cloth round the waist is adorned with bells or iron chains. Face, [302] arms, and the upper part of the body are smeared with red earth, over wich melted butter is poured and stripes of ashes are drawn. Several, if not all, of the dancers carry a dancing-stick, a long stick, bent at its upper end like the handle of a walking stick, and covered with brass or some other metal. *b)* The girls present the following appearance: above the ankles a bundle of heavy iron rings, on the loins a large antelope- or more frequently calf-skin suspended by a bundle of ostrich egg shell chains; round the neck and hanging down on the breasts a large bundle of blue or green beads; on the wrists bracelets of beads; round the forehead a string of beads; the hair is sometimes dressed on the occasion; in the hair an ostrich or some other good feather is stuck, in one or two cases I saw even flowers instead of a feather; the girls are not painted, only anointed with oil.

301 The most characteristic adornments of the men are thick, heavy bracelets and armlets of iron, brass, ivory, twisted ambach, tree-bark, and cowrie shells. A wreath consisting of a strip of skin with the hair on the outside is laid round the head. Rings of metal, ambach, cowrie or bark are worn above the ankle. Women and girls also wear armlets, but not ivory ones. The legs below the knee are loaded with heavy metal rings. Men as well as women, but chiefly [304] the latter, pierce their ears at the top, and wear rings of brass or iron in them; sometimes merely a piece of metal or a stick is fastened in them. Both sexes wear strings of ostrich egg shells about the loins; besides these chains of cowries, of river shells, of leather, and of varied beads are frequent. Many grown-up men and youths wear a necklace of a peculiar kind of small, well-shaped, and 439 marble-like stones, which have about the size of a pigeon-egg; they are very much valued, and the natives always ask an ox in exchange for them. These

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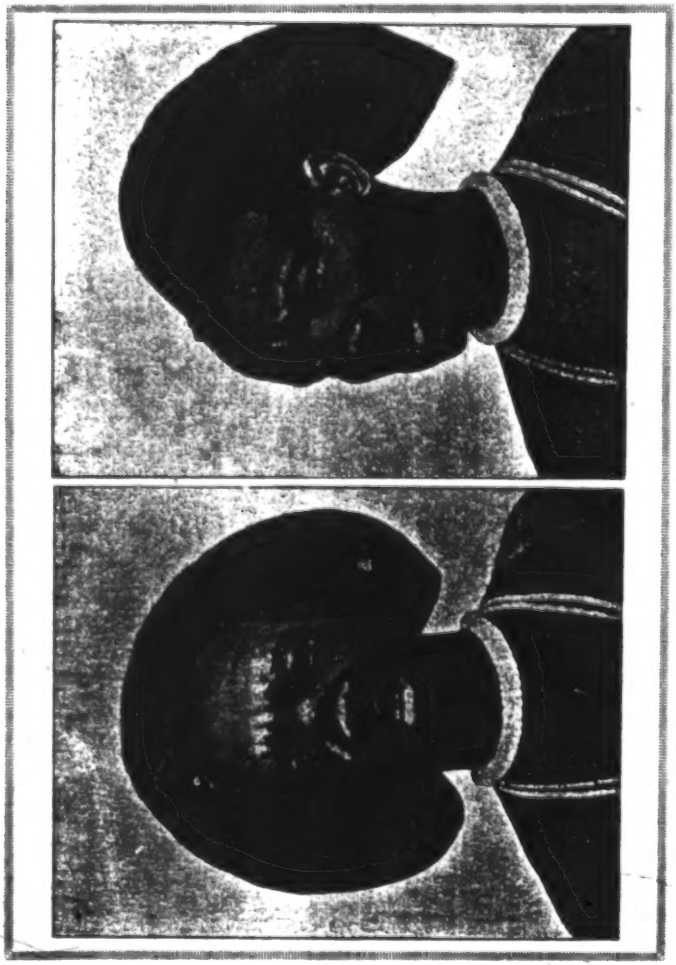
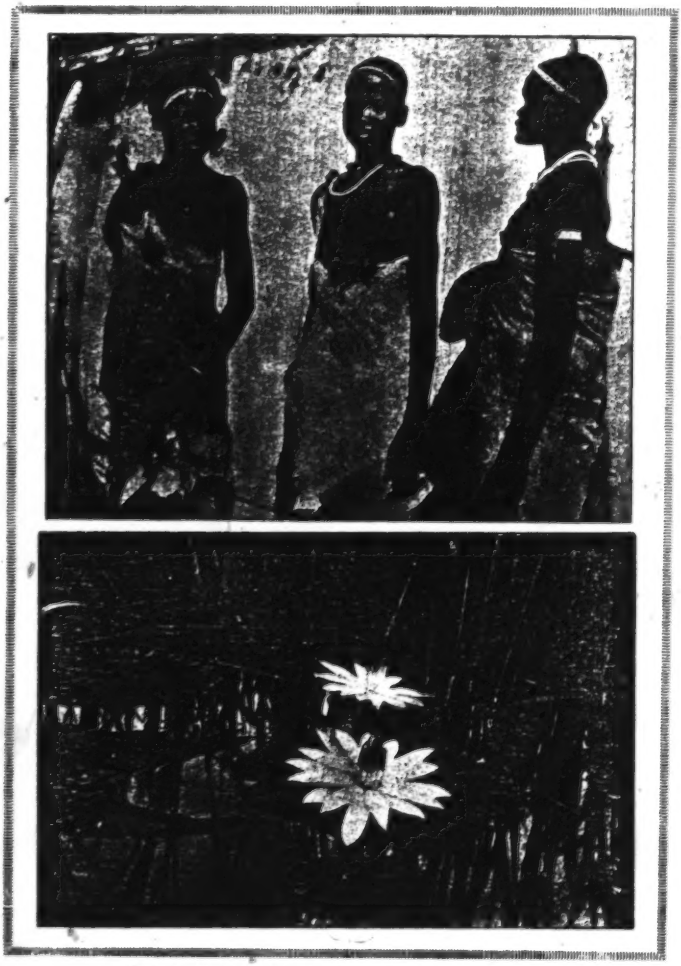


A Typical Shilluk, showing head dress

[FACING P. XXXII]

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23



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1. Shilluk Girls showing the way they wear the skin dress
2. Lotus flower along the Sobat River

[FACING p. XLVIII (A)]

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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bɔ̰̄te ńálɛ́ɲ̀ who beats the small drum "*ńálɛ́ɲ̀*".
bɔ̰̄te gɛ́t̰ kɨ jɛ̀ who knocks out the lower incisive teeth.
bɔ̰̄te twɛ́ch who cups.
bɔ̰̄te ńát kɨ wɔ́t̰ who dresses the horn of cattle.
bɔ̰̄te rɔ́ch who castrates bulls.
bɔ̰̄te ńɛ́r who pierces the ears of cattle and men, to put in ornaments.
bɔ̰̄te kwɔ̰̀ɲ̀ɔ̀ wʉ́r the leader in singing.
bɔ̰̄te kʉ́dɔ̀ kɨ ɖáɲ̀ who makes the dancing-sticks.
bɔ̰̄te tɛgɨ́ kwɔ́m who makes chairs.
bɔ̰̄te tɖ̰ɲ̀ì who makes the neck supports or rests.
bɔ̰̄te káké lwɔ́l who makes, carves calabashes, gourds.
bɔ̰̄te twɔy kɑ̰̀l lùkɔ̀ who makes giraffe-tail necklaces.
bɔ̰̄te tɛgɨ́ kɨ ɖɔ́ke dɔ̰̀t who makes mat-doors.
bɔ̰̄te shwɔ́y kɨ bɔ̰̀yì net-maker.
bɔ̰̄te shwɔ́y kɨ ʈìgɔ̀ door-maker.
bɔ̰̄te shwɔgɨ́ kɨ ɖyɔ̀m salt-maker.
bɔ̰̄te tɔ́kɔ̀ ʈɛ́àu maker of iron bracelets.
bɔ̰̄te fíɛ̀ɖɔ̀ lúʈ one who plaits stripes of skin at the end of the club-handle, to prevent the club from slipping from the hand.
bɔ̰̄te kygre tygle wɔ́t who makes the foundations of huts.
bɔ̰̄te wʉ́ɲ̀ɔ̀ diver.
bɔ̰̄te dɔ́k kɨ yei hair dresser who fashions the hair into small lumps.
bɔ̰̄te mɛ̄t hair dresser who makes the large artificial hair-dresses.
bɔ̰̄te nɛ́kɔ̀ fɑ̀rɔ̀ hippo-huntsman.
oyjɲɔ crocodile hunter.

12. Tools of the bodo, or metal-worker.

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ábáʉ́ hammer.
kʃkɨ́t anvil.
tɨ́yʉ̀jɨ́ file.
óbʉ̀k bellows.
chʉ̄r a cover for the pipe of the bellows, to prevent its growing hot.
dʉ̀kɡ̰̀bɨ́ thongs.
tʉ́ɔ̀ɲ̀ chisel.
tɨ́rɛ́k an instrument with which to pierce a hole into the spear-handle, to put the spear in.

13. Clothing and ornaments for the body.

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lʉ́ʉ skin-cloth, now also used for cotton-cloth.
óchyɨ̀nɔ̀ loin-cloth for women.
obáɲ̀ɔ̀ front-cloth for women.
dʉ̀t skin-cloth for dancing worn by both sexes

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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yŋ̀r skin cut into small stripes or fringes, worn round the waist.
dyŋ́mɔ̀ ear-rings of tin.
gwɛ̀lɛ metal ring worn on arm, wrist, feet.
gwɛ̀le yíɛ́ ear-ring.
yiél bracelet for the wrist.
gɔ̀k knee-ring of skin.
ógɔ̀nɔ̀ brown ambach-ring, worn on the upper arm.
gyɛ̀lɛ ivory ring
achóɛ́ ivory ring.
wɔ̀ɛ́ ivory ring carved in conical form.
owɛ̀dɛ̀ ivory ring, a small strip.
órɛ́mɛ̀ ivory ring, big.
orɔk knee-bells, used in dancing.
ótyaá a small bell.
átútúm bell, similar to *orɔk*.
òlóòlóé dancing-bell
òkɔ̀t cow-bell, used in dancing.
agyɛr small cow-bell.
lɛ̃go, tɛɛgɛ a common name for beads.
amanjúr blue beads, worn by women.
rɛ̃k ostrich shell beads.
gór big beads, worn on the neck by men.
bɔl ɛ̃ɛ̃nɛ a kind of beads.
tɛdɔ̀ a kind of small beads.
yɛ̀lɔ̀ green beads, round, small.
àbàɛ̃ɔ̀rɔ̀ a kind of beads.
óàyɛ̃á a kind of beads.
dɛ́á a kind of beads.
bàkó a kind of beads.
ádémɔ̀t a kind of beads.
aɛ́ék a kind of beads.
ápíù a kind of beads.
óbɔ́ù white beads.
tɛ̀tɛ̀á black beads.
kɛ̃n owɛ̀dɛ̀ blue beads.
ɣɛ̀rɔ̀ red beads.
ddwɔ̀gɔ̀ yellow beads.
wɛ́á ágàk "crow's eye", a big bead.[1]
gãgɛ cowry shell.
tɔ̀myɛ̃gɔ̀ a string for tying together clothes.
gaá a kind of button worn in the hair.
wɛ́nɔ̀ brown giraffe-tail hairs.
óchírɔ̀ white giraffe-tail hairs.
achúɛ́ tooth-brush.
dwɔ́p a head-dress.
óchóch a head-dress.
dɛ̀m a head-dress.
mèt a head-dress, "like a shield".
agérɔ̀ a head-dress, "like a shield".
nwgr bleached hair, long.
áshíshwèl a chain, worn as ornament.
gáńkú rattle, made of leaves of the deleib, tied on leg or loin.
ógɔ̀nɔ̀ } arm-ring of ambach.
adérɔ̀ }
wɔ́l loin-ring.
shyl gwɔk "penis of dog" arm-bracelet of brass.
nwoá iron bracelet.

14. Names for cows.

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ɟɛàá cow; common name. Plural: *ɟɔk* cattle.
wɔɛ́ bull.
rɛ̃jɛ heifer.

[1] There are many more beads, each of which has its own name.

*539 *gyɛlǫ. Ka riɨ e wɛ̀rù, ka nûk kûl gɛ́ gîr, ka ɖǫ̀k chōl ga pyār aŋwɛn, kí jɛ̀ gá pyārǫ; riɨ kɛ̀ch; a dwɔ̀k chwak, a chike chōl ké ɖǫ̀k, kí jɛ̀, a kōbi riɨ kine: wei bɛ̄dɛ, tŋ̀ná yè kɛ́r.*

173 The eldest son of a king whose name was Alǫki, was brought to be elected
*539 king. But he refused, and when he was informed secretly that they were going to elect him by force, he went away and fled to the Nubian country, he with two of his brothers. And (during their flight, or in the Nubian country) they used to pound dura for food; the youngest of them was told (compelled) to bring water. (When they had gone) one prince (in the Shilluk country) said, "Let them stay there (in the Nubian country)." And they learned the Nubian language.

He came home again, and built himself a village, wich he called Pwot ("beaten"). He settled there, but he still continued saying, "No, I refuse to be chief; I
[643 don't want to." So his son was elected, and he reigned. He carved bracelets out
●301] of elephant-tusks.[1] When the king (at Fashoda) heard this, he became angry, and he sent an armed body to him, a great one. And he (the prince) had to make amends with fourteen cows and ten men; for the king was very much offended. Again an ambassador of the king was sent to the prince, asking for more cattle and men as compensation. Then the king said, "Now let him alone, the reason for his being so haughty as to cut ivory-bracelets was his wealth, and we have taken that from him."

44. The Cowardly King.

*539 *Jal mɛ̀kǫ Akúnɔ̀ Bàkɔ̀, ka e bɛ̀nǫ, chama riɨ, e chyɛ̀k, ka Chǫlǫ yēi, mɛn an ka lɛ̀da riɨ anan; wa yēi ki ɛn. Ka jal mɛ̀kǫ kyɛdǫ: í, faɨe riɨ! A rāp āŋǫ? A chyɛki nau, yā kyèt! Ka jal ɛni e bɛ̀nǫ, ka pɛ̀ka tūn yɔ̄, bɛ̀ lɛpe gòn. Ká gɔ̀ lɛ́pɛ́, ka Akúnɔ̀ Bàkɔ̀ bɛ̀nɔ̀, ka e buɔgo, ka e rɛn. Ka jal ɛni ko: yi rɛna kɛ́n? Ma yi kōba yin, che yina riɨ? yi chyɛte nǫ kɛ̀te? Ka tɛ̄rǫ ko: à, wa chén ɛ̀nà yi ɖāpe nau? Ka Akúnɔ̀-Bàkɔ̀ e bɛ̀nǫ, ka tɛ̄ŋa fān, ka ye yíyí. Tɛ̄rǫ kudi yau. Gɛy tɛ̄m! Tɛ̄rǫ kudi yau. Ka jāɔǫ kōbǫ: gɛ̄ŋe wunǫ! Ka wunǫ gɛ́ń yan tɛ̄nǫ. Ká é rɛ́nɔ̀, ka Chǫlǫ nɛ̄tǫ: á, faɨe riɨ! Ka Chǫlǫ ko: nɛ̀k! Ka tɛ̄ŋa yinǫ, a pɛr.*

173 A man whose name was Akūnyo Bāko, came and wanted to become king.
*539 He was a short man. The Shilluks consented, "This man shall be king now, we are satisfied with him." But one man refused, saying, "No, he is not a king! What kind of king is he, this short man? I protest!" This man came and sat down on the side of a road, to lie in wait for the new king. While he was lying in wait for him, Akūnyo Bāko came. When he saw the man, he was afraid and ran away. The man asked, "Why do you run away? Was it not you who said,

[1] Formerly only the king was authorised to wear ivory bracelets.

15: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1926 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Many things are denied to the young man who has not been properly initiated. He cannot take part in the formal dances, though he may join in the moonlight dances of the children. He is debarred from that pursuit so dear to the heart of the small boy, that is, he is not permitted to go to their tribal fights. However, he enjoys immunity from danger in these fights, as women and boys who have not danced are placed in the same class; it is a disgrace to kill them. In the few cases that I have known of small lads being killed, the ones who did the killing insisted that it was a mistake—that either the weapon had miscarried or they had mistaken the lad for someone else. Some timid lads may delay their initiation through fear, but to the majority it is a challenge to claim the full rights of men. The boy who has not danced is not permitted to wear the large necklaces made from the heavy hairs of the giraffe tail. He may wear a band of a few hairs, but the large ones called wīn are forbidden to him. He is also forbidden to wear the rek, the beads made from the eggshell of the ostrich. He is not permitted to use "ajōṇo" on his hair. This is a brick-like substance made by taking the cleaning from the floor of the stable in the morning, and then dried cow dung is put with it, and the resulting mixture is made into a loaf and burned with cow dung. It has a brick-like appearance when finished. It is then powdered. The young man puts oil on his head. The dust is poured on his head, and he keeps shaking his head to get it to form little balls. Other red preparations for the head may be used by the small boys. The lad who has not danced is not permitted to wear the skins of the various members of the cat tribe that the men wear at fights and dances. Finally, he is not permitted to make a formal call on the young ladies until after he has danced, and he is not granted any political rights in the village council.

The ages at the time of initiation vary. A strong lad is initiated at an earlier age than a weakling. The older men say that boys dance at an earlier age than they did formerly. The average age now is perhaps fifteen years. Some of the older men say it used to be at least twenty years. When all the older males in a family are dead a boy may be initiated younger so that he can inherit the property of his father, and also to give the family representation in the civic life of the village. Initiations may occur at both the spring and autumn dances. Those initiated the same year have a feeling of relationship for others of the same

881 with girls. This man ceremonially ties on the youths dancing ornaments before he enters the dance and accompanies him to the dancing ground.

On the morning of the *Cong*, the candidate is taken with his companions to an *Ajwogo* or priest who performs certain rites with them before they continue on their way to the gathering. On their arrival at the village where the *Cong* is being held, the initiates form up two abreast and remain in the charge of their sponsor until the actual dancing begins. After this they enter the dance in the normal way, joining the ranks of the warriors who have certain acts of politeness to the *Jago* to perform before they are chosen as partners by the girls.

535 881 [534] The *Cong* takes place about four o'clock in the afternoon when the heat is less oppressive and the population of the district has finished work in the fields. The drum (often two, "*Bul Dwong*" and "*Bul Thin*") is placed on a wooden structure in the centre of the village. The drummer begins to call the local inhabitants together long before any dancing is due to take place and beats furiously on the drum at varying intervals. Women and those who are too old to dance assemble round the huts, gossiping and drinking merissa with the occupants. [554] The important men of the settlement, the *Jak* and their assistants and a few of the most respected elders assemble near to the hut of the *Jago* who offers them refreshment and tobacco. Meanwhile the warriors arrive in small batches, and stand outside the village. The normal [291] "*Lau*" of cloth is discarded and they put on skins fastened from their waists and ornament themselves with their special dancing beads and sashes. They carry with them their best spears, but not the fighting [411] shield, for the *Cong* has no military associations. Some have small [714] shields of hippo or crocodile skin make in miniature imitation of the heavy war shield, but the majority carry parrying-sticks or "stick-shields." Some wear strings of small bells wound crosswise round [301] their legs.

When the final touches have been put to their clothing, small groups of warriors enter the dancing ground in the centre of the village, shouting as they come. They shamble and jump round the drum and then disperse in small groups, while other warriors are assembling. When large groups have collected, after more salutations to the drum,

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

THE FUNERAL DANCE OF REITH FAFITI.

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1.—Shilluk trumpeters with kudu horns.

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2.—The drums of Fafiti.
There were six of these set vertically in the ground.

[FACING p. 24]

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

6. *Costumes.* All the warriors wore "war paint", their faces smeared with red, a mixture of brick dust and oil. Hair wigs and feather crests were worn by most men, including chiefs, who had no elaborate head-dresses of their own hair. Skins were worn as well as cloth. Leopard skins were worn, largely by wives of the late *reth*, and by *kwa reth* and chiefs, and the skins of the Mrs. Gray antelope and cob by those to whom they had been presented by Fafiti. An interesting feature was the senior wife, who was clad in the deceased's clothes, his special cloak (*lau*), cummerbund, and sash, and the Scottish International Rugby cap which had been presented to Fafiti by Mr. P. Munro. The cap had aged a lot in the last few years, but has established itself as part of the regalia, and the new *reth* requested that a substitute be found for him for the ceremonies.

NOTES TO PART 3

7. The *reth* could not start without *nyakwer*. Her status and significance are discussed in the text of the fourth day's ceremonies. It is possible that the lateness of the Kwa Okel was due to a conventional reluctance to produce the girl.

8. Important personages in the ceremony, and female relatives of the *reth* or attendants of Nyikang wore the skins of female Mrs. Gray antelope. The *reth* himself wore one on the last two days of the ceremony. The chief of Gol Nyikang was observed on the morning of the first day's ceremonies wearing a black skin of the male Mrs. Gray. He soon changed to a female skin.

9. The *reth* was on a journey, and these were his attendants and his luggage. Nyikang had a similar retinue.

10. The *reth's* sacred shield is a counterpart to that of Nyikang; like Nyikang's shield it should have been brought from Fashoda, but at the last moment it was forgotten.

11. The Kwa Otwot may originally have been a clan which has now died out. The prefix indicates an agnatic kinship group. They

20: Thomson G-5 (1945-1946) 1948 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

of his throne, the spirit of the divine Nyikang, which had been as it were in suspension since the last *reth* Anei Kur had passed over a year ago, had entered into Dak Fadiet, and once again the Shilluk people could resume their normal life.

NOTES.

1. *The body of Nyikang.*

It was explained in our previous article that the body of Nyikang consisted of a bundle of bamboos brought from the Nuba Mountains. I now believe that this is not the case and that only Dak's body is of bamboo. It is more likely that the bundle is of ambatch, indeed this is generally believed. The Shilluk believe that the soul of a mortal can pass into a stick of ambatch, and I am informed by Dr. J. A. Heasty that if a Shilluk dies away from his home his relatives hold a ceremony to make his soul pass into a stick of ambatch, which they take back to his village and bury there.

2. *The vigil of the Beads 'Ocero,' which are tied on to the reth's ankle.*

I interviewed the old *nyireth* who is responsible for these beads. She was reluctant to tell me much, and refused to show me the beads. I asked her, for she had great experience of these matters, how it came that some beads appeared with holes in them, and she told me that as she sat over them at night the ones which appear with holes went 'pop.' She told me that four had appeared with holes for *reth* Fafiti in 1918, and one for *reth* Anei and five for *reth* Dak. She said four or five were about right, one was too few, and more than five was too many. The beads with holes are tied on to the *reth's* ankle only during the ceremonies, and after that they apparently close up.

3. *Nyakwer.*

It was not clear in 1944 what became of Nyakwer. It now appeared that she became *bareth*, i.e. will become a wife of the *reth* when she grows up. The girl who was Nyakwer in 1944 still lives in Fashoda, and is now about 13 years old. There was of course a different girl in 1948.

4. *Fashoda.*

The sacred village of Fashoda was most beautifully cleaned and repaired for the installation. All the houses had had their fences renewed, and courtyards replastered with mud, though none of them was rebuilt. The whole of the mound on which the royal shrine of

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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By courtesy of V. Rev. J. P. Kenealy

Shilluk with baby crocodile
(delicacy esteemed by all Shilluk, Nuer and Dinka)

[facing p. iii]
[frontispiece]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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For dress both sexes wear a length of cotton cloth knotted on one shoulder, the left of a man, and the right of a woman, and falling to the knees. These cloths when new are a dazzling white, but they soon lose all semblance of their original purity. The male Shilluk favours red, and steeps his cloth in a dye made from brick dust which produces a russet hue; the female, alas, prefers to soak her cloth in oil which turns her lovely white robe into a dingy, evil-smelling clout.

'In the Spring,' sings the poet, 'a young man's fancy lightly turns to thoughts of love,' and this is no less true of the Shilluk youth than it is of his brother of any other race or clime. A Shilluk gallant seeking to captivate a maiden's heart is indeed a sight to see; his cloth is dyed the deepest red; his spear-blade glitters and its six-foot shaft is smooth and polished; his face is painted red and white (and in other colours, too, if he has a friend or relation who has access to the school chalk-box), with the beads of flesh across his brow pricked out in contrasting colours; he is loaded down with ropes of beads, dangling ear-rings, bracelets and anklets, so that he clanks along like a tank engine. But the most astonishing feature of his get-up is his hair. No fashionable hairdresser at home can teach the Shilluk anything about hair-styles. Nature has given him but a sparse thatch of thin, kinky hair, yet with this he produces the most amazing results. If he decides to go in for the soup-plate style, he waits until his hair has grown to a reasonable length and then puts himself in the hands of the local hairdresser who treats his locks with a mixture of mud, oil, ashes and other less pleasing ingredients before moulding them into discs on each side of the head, teasing the hair into minute curls. Sometimes the barber will shave the top of the head bare, but occasionally he will treat it with red mud and knead it into small balls like cherries, or shape it like a cock's comb or something equally fantastic. A youth who adopts this hair-style may keep it long after his courting days are over and he has settled down as a sedate husband, and in this case the two side discs, reinforced from time to time with extra supplies

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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832 of mud, assume enormous proportions, becoming rather like
302 the wide ears of an elephant. When they become too cumbersome he tires of them and has them cut off; he may then adopt another style, but as a rule the fires of youth have by this died down and he is content to leave his hair in its natural state.

302 Other highly esteemed hair-styles are the 'Cherry Pie', when the hair all over the head is moulded tightly into little red balls; the 'Cock's Comb' extending in a raised ridge from the crown of the head to the forehead while the rest is shaven, and the 'Hat Brush'. One day my houseboy appeared before my startled eyes with his head clean shaven save for a long elliptical patch of hair which he had dyed (with, I suspected, the Sisters' laundry blue) a brilliant blue colour. Again, a brave will sometimes scorn all such fripperies, and shave his head completely, polish it with oil and bind a string of flat blue beads around his forehead, achieving the effect of a decorated chocolate Easter egg.

562 As is usual in the East it is the male who wears the fine plumage while the female is subdued, if not indeed drab, in her colouring. A Shilluk girl makes no attempt to imitate the gorgeous decoration of her brother; her dirty grey cloth
[291] she may hem with an embroidered pattern in beads, and she
[531] may bedeck also with coloured beads the little apron she wears around her waist, but apart from a string of beads
[301] around her neck or arm and an iron or copper bangle, that is the only finery she will allow herself. She rarely paints
[302] her face or dresses her hair. On the occasion of a dance
[292] she will change her everyday cloth for a blue one or a mantle of deer skin, anoint her shaven head with oil and trick herself out with a few more beads, and having gone as far as fashion allows will rely upon personal charm to win her admirers.

174 The origins of the Shilluk people are not known with any
[197] degree of certainty. It would seem from their affinity, especially in language, with the Jur tribe of the Southern Sudan and with the Luo of the Bahr-el-Gazal and Kenya

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173 To the west and north was the desert inhabited by peoples
174 greater and stronger than themselves and prepared to dispute their advance in that direction; on the east the Nile ran, and behind them were the swamplands, and Dimo.
131 They had no choice then but to stay in the country where
361 they are found today, a narrow belt of land extending from Tonga in the south to Kaka in the north, a distance of about 150 miles. Inland Shilluk settlements may be found 15 miles away from the river, but generally their villages, containing from two to twenty or thirty families, stand no further than a mile or two from its banks, straggling along the whole length of the country. Since their first settling there some hardy souls have crossed the Nile and found a foothold on its eastern bank which they have gradually extended until they occupy a strip of land stretching from opposite Kodok in the north to the River Sobat in the south, and along that river for a distance of 30 miles or so. The nature of the country on the other side, however, does not differ from that of their original settlement, and the powerful Dinka tribe has always opposed their progress inland, so that those who have gone to live on the eastern bank are no better off than they were before.

565 The social structure of the Shilluk tribe is built up from a division of the people into four classes or castes. These classes are not however exclusive, for they live together in the same villages, share common tasks and recreations and even intermarry. The basis of the division is the possession of royal blood, or, ultimately, descent from Nyikang.

565 The first class is that of the Kwareth, the Royal Clan. To
644 this belong all those who are members of the royal houses tracing their ancestry directly to Nyikang. Only a member of this class is eligible for election as king. The first four generations of a king's descendants are recognized as being of royal blood and are entitled to the privileges of royalty.
[304 Thus they are permitted to retain all their teeth, they may
301 wear an anklet of small white beads, and more than one
292] according to the nearness of descent; they alone may dress in a leopard skin for a dance.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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the roar of voices and the clashing of weapons might well make him apprehensive that he would soon find himself on the scene of a bloody battle between two rival villages. However, the reality would prove such fears unfounded, for he would merely discover that the dance was on, and that Shilluk youth was taking an afternoon off to enjoy itself. The Shilluk is fonder of dancing, we may suppose, than of anything else in the world. He will walk, or rather run and leap and jump, for miles to a place where dancing is to take place; and as he goes along he will lift his unmusical voice in raucous song, or give vent to blood-curdling whoops, springing high into the air and lunging with his spear at imaginary foes. Then for the next two or three hours he will bruise his great flat feet by pounding them on the ground, and yell himself hoarse, yet return home at the end of it not a bit less exuberant than when he set off. It may be the rainy season when the food stores are at their lowest level, and he will return home to a damp, fireless hut and an empty food bowl, but he does not mind; if he cannot eat and drink, at least he can make merry, and the dance will continue tomorrow and the day after too.

The day of his first dance marks a high light in the life of a Shilluk boy. Up to this he has been a wistful onlooker, a mere boy among other boys, whose occupation has been the minding of sheep and goats, the cleaning out of the cattle byre, the fetching and carrying for his betters; now, however, he has become as good as they are. He may dye his cloth as red and do up his hair as elaborately as they; carry real spears, not just some blunted cast-off a good-natured elder brother has given him; sit in council among his equals; take up his good new spear, if necessary, in defence of his village or his tribe.

On the day of the dance therefore, he attires himself with great care; his body shines with oil and is liberally powdered with red ochre; his hair is dressed in the way beloved of Shilluk youth; since 'tails' are *de rigueur* for these functions, he wears them: an antelope skin bound round his waist by a coloured sash with two strips of skin from the legs hanging

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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down at the back; round his neck, instead of a white tie, he wears a collar of discs cut from the shell of an ostrich egg and a necklet of hair from the tail of a giraffe; his face is painted in some tasteful design in red, white and blue; his arms are loaded with all the beads he possesses or can beg, borrow or steal, and if he can fasten a large clanging bell to one elbow, he is extra pleased; his legs are cross-gartered with strings of metal shells, the size and shape of mussel shells, which give a most satisfying clashing sound when he moves; in his right hand he carries the three-foot long dancing stick of brown wood adorned at the top with two lugs of leather, in his left he grasps his dancing shield, a short, thick cylinder of ambach wood. Thus accoutred, he takes his beautiful new spear in the hand which holds the dancing stick, and with great pride sets out, surrounded by a bevy of admiring females, to join a number of his fellow dancers. Some of these are neophytes like himself, others have long since tasted the sweetness of the initiation dance, but all are picturesquely garbed and bedecked in the same way. In single file they proceed, running and yelling, leaping and whooping, towards the distant village where the drums are already beginning to throb and to which noisy throngs are converging from all sides. The girls follow on, no less excited than their brothers and sweethearts, and as they run along they give vent to their feelings in shrill ululations. They are more soberly dressed than the gorgeous males: an animal skin or a dark blue cloth is fastened on one shoulder and falls to the knees; they have anointed themselves with oil, put on their best beads, and perhaps smeared a little red dust on the top of their heads and touched up their faces with a little paint. Yet they need not worry that lack of charm or beauty will mean a lack of partners; if there are to be any wallflowers at the dance, they will be among the men, for every girl will have her beau. Nor need they have any misgivings about not knowing the correct steps; a leap upwards and backwards in time with the beat of the drums and a half turn to right and left with every dozen steps is all that is required. It is not grace of move-

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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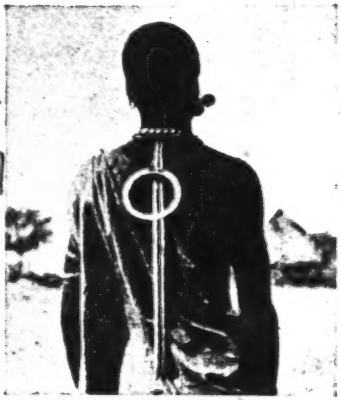

A Shilluk wearing a pair of ivory back-scratchers: a favourite adornment both useful and ornamental

Shilluk warrior in fighting pose

A Shilluk warrior poses against a peaceful background of cattle

Shilluk hair-styles: five 'soup-plates' in different stages of growth

Photos: Fr. F. Spakauskas

Shilluk warriors and Shilluk adornments

[facing p. 52]

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643 642 [535] reth, no building may be done and the usual burning off of the grass in the early dry season is forbidden.

643 796 [326] [301] During this time also active preparations are on foot for the ceremonies of installation. Iron must be obtained and special ceremonial and presentation spears forged; silver, ivory and ostrich feathers procured for the making of bracelets and other ornaments; a hunting party has to make inroads (either without the knowledge or with the connivance of the government) upon a strictly protected species of antelope in order to obtain the highly prized skins which serve the purpose of purple and ermine in the installation ceremonies. The forging of the sacred spears is introduced with special ceremony; with appropriate sacrifice new fire by the immemorial method of the friction of hard wood upon soft is made and the implements of the blacksmiths blessed.

[237] [326]

643 796 778 775 There is great activity during this period of preparation in Akurua in the north of the country, Nyikang's own sacred village. It was from here that the hero-king disappeared in a whirlwind from the sight of mortal man, and it is to Akurua that he returns in order that he may go to Fashoda to install his successor as reth. In the shrine at Akurua are housed the sacred effigies of Nyikang and his son, Dak, which are carried in procession from Akurua to Fashoda for the installation. These effigies consist of heads of ostrich feathers fixed in bamboo sockets, and are in fact fetishes, since the souls of Nyikang and Dak are believed to inhabit them. On the death of a king the old effigies are destroyed and new ones made for the installation of the reth-elect.

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643 796 778 [614] When preparations at Fashoda are completed, messengers are sent to Akurua to inform Nyikang that it is time to march to Fashoda. The effigies are then carried out, borne aloft by members of a clan whose special prerogative this is, and start on the journey to the capital, a distance of about seventy miles. The procession moves south at a smart pace. Dak's mop of feathers on the end of a long bamboo pole looks like an oversized feather duster; Nyikang's head of ostrich plumes is very much bigger than that of his son's,

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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tending the hurts of the wounded. It seemed that the affair had ended; the boys began to creep back to school and we breathed freely again. The next morning, however, there was a fresh alarm. One of our Christians ran breathlessly into the mission and begged me to send at once to Kodok for assistance and to go myself to Pabiu to stop what might develop into a battle royal. It appeared that Alel was to hold a dance that afternoon and Pabiu was going to attend in force. To do so they must necessarily pass Detwok, and the braves of that village swore that they would do so only over their dead bodies, and that if they attempted it, Detwok would strew the road with their corpses. To this Pabiu joyfully replied that it would enjoy the task of putting Detwok in its proper place, under the earth, once and for all.

I immediately sent a runner to Kodok and after lunch, for if I was going to suffer martyrdom I thought there was no sense in doing so on an empty tummy, I went forth to try and keep the Pax Britannica till what time others, more competent, could arrive to enforce it. I went first to Pabiu, and found the warriors happily preparing for the dance. Faces were being carefully painted, bodies oiled and smothered in red dust, dancing skins being donned and all the paraphernalia so dear to the Shilluk heart and so essential to the Shilluk dance ready at hand; bells, shells, bracelets, beads, strips of gaudy cloth—anything indeed that could provide a riot of sound and colour; but I saw too that spears were being carefully sharpened and polished, and the large war shields not usually carried on the occasion of an ordinary dance had been brought out.

I approached the groups and received and returned the usual greetings. I asked them if there was a dance on and they replied that they were going to a dance at Alel. I pointed out that it would be more prudent if they stopped at home and that it was asking for trouble if they encroached on Detwok's territory. To this they replied that they were going to dance and that if Detwok wanted to start anything, that was Detwok's affair and not theirs. Then I went to the chief, and told him that I had sent to Kodok for police and that

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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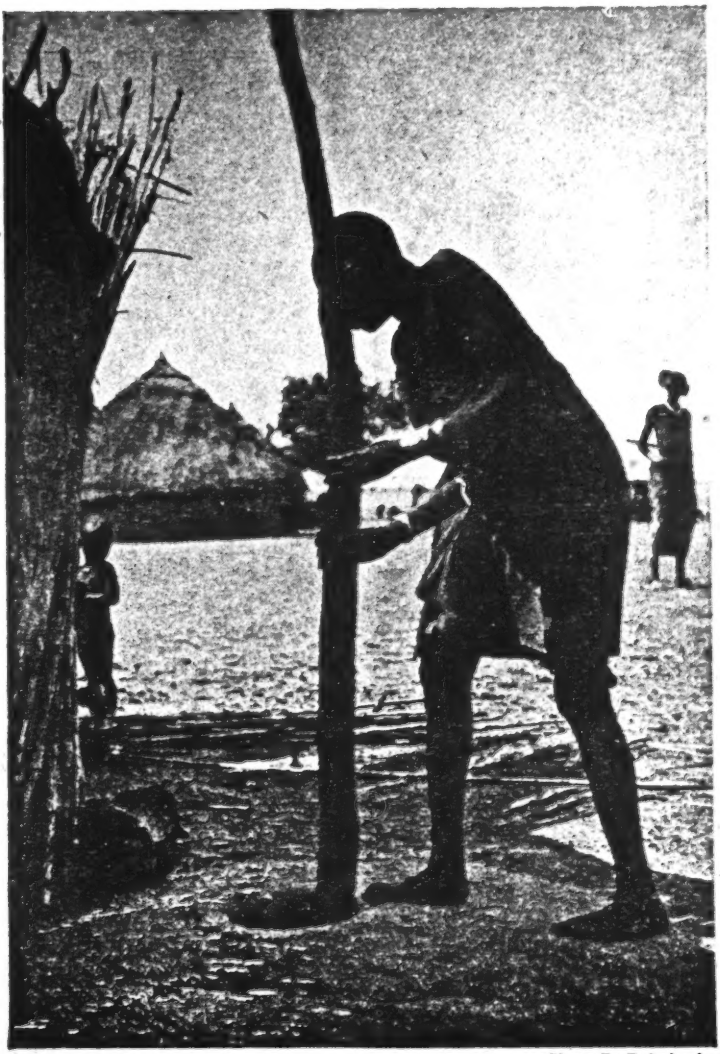

Photo: Fr. F. Spaleuskas

Girl pounding grain as a preliminary to grinding

[facing p. 84]

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Photo: Fr. F. Spakowska

A Shilluk putting the finishing touches to a spear-shaft

[facing p.85]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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person is a woman or a girl, a skirt is substituted for the skin, and for the girl some strings of yellow beads are added. If the family can afford it, it will buy a couple of yards of white cotton cloth to serve as a winding sheet and a cow skin is bound round this. The grave of a commoner is not dug in the hut itself but outside, near the compound. It is put near the surrounding reed fence, in a place where passers-by will not walk over it. As for a chief, the grave is excavated to a depth of about six feet but it is not nearly so wide, since the body is not buried lying on a bier, but is placed on the bare earth. The niche or alcove is cut out of the side, however, and a hen is placed under the head. During the funeral the mourners wail in the customary manner, and this is the signal for the warriors, who hitherto have been out of sight in the cattle byre, to charge forward, armed as usual with spears and shields, to salute their dead comrade. The grave is mudded over on the fourth day with the customary beer drinking and libation over the grave, and the relatives abstain for a while from dancing and the use of personal adornments.

The mourning is not really completed, however, until the deceased person has been commemorated at a funeral dance. This is a strict obligation upon the relatives, even though it may be a year or more before it is fulfilled. Since the commoner is not sufficiently important or wealthy to be given a dance all to himself, funeral dances are held periodically in the principal villages. The district turns up in force for these communal 'All Souls' days, for besides the attraction of the dance—and any Shilluk will cheerfully walk miles just for the pleasure of a dance—there is also the extra treat of a share in the meat when the affair is over. Everybody who is commemorating his dead must give an offering, a bull if the deceased is a man or a woman, a sheep if a child. The dance follows the pattern of the more important funeral dances: There is no tomb, however, so the drums mounted in forked sticks are made the focus of attention. The warriors, armed with spear and shield, make the customary encirclement of the village and then advance to the drums, chanting their